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846 finements last from a few days to a week. Moreover, the cere-
[845] monies for difficult childbirth and the many medicines in use for
[757] ailments resulting from childbearing suggest that the woman does not always have an easy time.

[844] After the birth of her child, the woman ties a rope or a strap
[826] around her waist "so that her stomach will not sag." She wears this until she feels strong once more.

844 Despite the roving life, there is an attachment to the place of
823 birth. A child is told where he was born; and, when he is again
788 brought to the vicinity, "they roll him on the ground to the four directions. They don't make a special trip for this, but they do it if they happen to be there. This is done even if the child is getting big." Adults as well as children have been known to roll in this manner upon returning to the birthplace.

CRADLE DAYS

852 Normally, the fourth day after birth is the occasion for a cra-
756 dle ceremony, although sometimes the rite is delayed for a few
[759] days more. The immediate family may include an old man or woman prepared to perform it, or the midwife may know the rite and accept the task. Depending on the "way" of the shaman who officiates, the ceremony will be elaborate or modest. A poor
[556] family is satisfied to obtain a shaman whose ceremony is pruned to essentials, while a wealthy family may make more of a display of the event. Not infrequently the selection of the practitioner is related to the web of human relations—to friendships, to bonds of blood, to desire for gain.

[556] There's a shaman, my relative. And there are some people who have a new baby. They are well-off people; they have much property; they have horses and buckskins and bring in lots of deer. My relative has nothing like this, though he is a shaman. He is poor. I notice that this wealthy family with the new baby has lost several babies before this.

I go to them. I say, "You people have a new baby. I notice that you have lost several children. My relative is a good shaman. He knows something to keep the child well. You go to him and ask him and he will put up a ceremony for you. But don't tell him who told you about his ceremony."

Those relatives of the little child talk it over. One says, "I'll give a gun for that ceremony." Another says, "I'll give two blankets." Another offers a horse or a buckskin.

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Occasionally, a cradle is burned at the death of the child. This alternative usage conforms to the customary death practices, for all of an adult's combustible possessions are ordinarily destroyed by fire at his demise.

A still serviceable cradle, if the child for whom it was made is alive and healthy, may be used for a newborn sibling of the same sex. Nevertheless, a cradle ceremony is held for the new baby. The more usual practice is to fashion a separate cradle for each child.

There are no conventionalized cradlesongs, but the mother often croons some such improvised lullaby as, "Little baby, go to sleep again." "Sometimes it goes way up and makes you feel sorry for the baby. It almost makes you want to cry." To quiet a fretful child, a man or a woman swings the cradle and sings a vigorous tune accompanied by such words as:

This, my little baby!
This, my little baby!

FIRST STEPS

Life is conceived as a path along which individuals must constantly be helped by ritual devices. This trail must be followed exactly as the heroes of mythical times are said to have journeyed along it. It is appropriate, therefore, that the baby's first steps should be ceremonially celebrated.

Since this rite is purely symbolic in nature, it may occur before the child actually begins to walk or some time afterward. It will not take place until the child is at least seven months old, and it has ordinarily been held before he is two years of age. On this occasion the infant dons his first moccasins, an aspect of the rite which gives it its name, "Putting on Moccasins." As in the other rites, practitioners who "know" this particular ceremony must be hired. Depending on their "way" and the wealth and importance of the family sponsoring the occasion, the ceremony will vary in detail. The account that follows summaries the basic pattern.

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586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
• [556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[587] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[574] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced
[848] woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

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To appreciate the mechanics of the elevation of a man to the office of leader, the conception of status must be understood. Distinctions of status dependent upon birth are recognized, although they are not rigidly maintained and are not uninfluenced by considerations of wealth and ability.[1] [556] [555]

When we say "people who are worthless," we are thinking of those who are not refined, who are of low birth. It is as if you said, "That person's line is no good." It always carries the idea of low birth. When a man gets angry at someone, he tells him that he belongs to this class; he uses it as an insult. But, no matter of what family a man comes, he isn't called this unless he is shiftless, lazy, and unreliable. Some are like that. Of some we say, "Their excrement juts out [because they are too lazy to wipe it away]." [578]

Of another person we might say, "He is from his [good] people." This is used in the sense of descent from the families of leaders and the wealthy. Those of whom this is said are more respected. It is pretty clear cut, and there is not much doubt whether a person belongs to this class or not.

Another informant speaks of the same extremes of status designation but calls attention to the middle position which most individuals hold:

Those who have sprung from families of wealth and influence are said to be "the people of good birth." It is easy to recognize them. A ceremonial man's children would not necessarily come under this classification, for a ceremonial man could be very poor. The word "worthless" is applied to people who are just loose, ignorant, or of a very poor family. Most people are in between; they are respectable people and contribute to everything in a good way. But still they are not the descendants of leaders. There is no name for them.

The right to respect has to be validated by achievement and effort:

The word meaning "he is from his [good] people" is used of the descendants of the politically influential and wealthy. Still, of a man who comes of good blood but is worthless and a waster, they say, "He comes of good blood, all right; but he is worthless." The term is not applied to such a person. It is said only of descendants of influential or wealthy men who are themselves so. There isn't much question about it or any need for dispute. Whether you like a person or not, you have to recognize his importance and position. If my grandfather or uncle was a leader, I would come under this term. People would expect me to live up to it. The term includes strong people, people strong in social position or in war. But it has to be generally accepted. People have to have respect for you.

[1] Such distinctions have already been touched upon in connection with the rearing and training of children (see pp. 28–29).

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Clearly, whatever his antecedents, a man must show presence and a willingness to assume responsibilities if he is to be accepted as a leader: 622 554

I don't look on N. as a leader. His father was one all right. I don't believe others think of him as a leader either. I have never heard him speak in public. If he would stand up in public and talk, if he would take part in public affairs, he probably would be considered a leader. Often now I hear people say to him, "Why don't you do something? Why don't you take an interest in these things?" But he just doesn't care for it. There are two other men here whose fathers were leaders. But they are just common men now.

The man mentioned in the above excerpt has supplied his own interpretation of his status: "Some people call me leader because my father was a leader. But I don't take it that way. I'm just like a poor man. I have no horses, no cattle. I don't live in a good house. I live just the way [other] Indians live, in a camp."

"Sometimes a leader's son refuses the responsibility," but the expectancy is that he or a close relative will succeed the head man. It is assumed that the leader has given his young relative the benefit of his knowledge and has prepared him for the position by the most rigorous training: 622 554 867 868

A young man, the son of a leader, has no excuse for not knowing what his father knew. Therefore, a young man is expected to be able to take the job. He is expected to act like a young man no longer. He is expected to have lots of sense.

Someone teaches him how to lead his people, so that they will not be in danger of starvation, how to select well-watered sites for camping, where to go after deer, and how to lead men into battle.

The leadership idea came from Child of the Water. When he was on earth, he was a leader. The leadership is usually kept in the same family; it is just handed down. If a man's father, uncle, grandfather, or someone else in the family is a leader, the boy is in line to be one too. Then he is especially trained for this. He is instructed by his parents or grandparents to be a leader.

The son of the leader is the first choice when the leader dies or isn't active any more. Most of the leaders I knew were sons of leaders. The chief's children get special advice and act in a different way. Because he is trained in a good way right from the start, the leader's son usually turns out to be a real man.

It is customary for the leader to be a man of wealth too, for the backing of prominent relatives and the attention bestowed 622 554 556

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622 554 556 upon a young man of rank are likely to assure him more than the ordinary share of gifts and products of the raid. His marriage connections will probably also be of the best. The tie between leadership and wealth is a close one:

If a man gets a lot of cattle, all his friends and relatives want to help him and live off him; and so such a man is respected. Everybody wants to help him and be his friend. He may butcher an animal for the whole crowd occasionally. He becomes a leader. If he has many horses, all his friends use them; they thus put themselves under him, and he becomes their leader. A leader has to be rich anyway [595] in order to give feasts. An important leader has four or five wives, and he takes care of them. In general, he has the best of everything.

622 554 555 Exceptional bravery sometimes elevates a warrior to rank even though his antecedents are ordinary:

A man who has done great deeds in war may be looked on as a leader when he comes back, even though he is not of a leader's family. A prisoner who has grown up with the Chiricahua and has accepted the life might even become a leader if he is brave and successful enough.

622 The functions of the leader are varied:

In case of war a leader heads the men when they go to battle. In time of peace he acts as adviser. He has charge of the group as far as camping, living conditions, and water supply are concerned. He advises the men about the hunt, where to go and how. Besides being an adviser and commander in war, the [627] leader is also a peacemaker on occasion. If there should be a murder and the leader finds it out, he and some assistants saddle their horses, ride out among the camps, and work for peace so that there will not be any trouble. If the leader is not present when the act occurs, there may be a lot of trouble. The people try to fix it up peaceably; if not, trouble continues and there may be a long family feud.

[431] The leader is supposed to talk to his people. He is supposed to be sympathetic and tell them how to live, sympathetic in the sense of giving out horses and valuables to those who need them. The leader is supposed to give something to eat to everyone who comes around. He has control in time of war. You can't disobey him. The leader advises the people to help the unfortunate, to give to those whose luck is bad. He advises against fights in the camps; he doesn't want any quarrels within the group.

[756] He advises the people to be on the lookout all the time. He may request that a ceremony be performed by a shaman for the benefit of the men during a raid. If the leader is advised by the shaman as a result of such a ceremony to do this or [556] that, he carries out what the power tells him to do. A man must be wealthy and have a big following to be a chief.

Nothing special is done when a man becomes a leader. People just take it for granted. He talks then. He gives speeches on public occasions.

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"Live around here. I will be around here with your daughter. One day when you go to war I will be by your side, but you won't see me. If you see a crow fly, it will be I. If you see a coyote, it will be I. If you want to go to war or on a raid, come here first and even if I am not here, talk, and I will be here. Tell me where you are going and ask my advice. Go home. The next day I will draw a picture of what you will get. I will draw deer tracks, horse tracks, and show where you are going to get them. If you see cattle or horse tracks, it means you will get plenty."

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

Immunity from some of the ordinary perils is another of the benefits which usually accompanies shamanism.

Some men use hawk feathers for arrows, but some are afraid. You have to know power to do it. Only a hawk shaman would do it. It's the same with the buzzard. Not everybody could use the feathers. Formerly the Chiricahua could get very sick from the buzzard.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, p. 214.)

The principal function and attribute of the possessor of a power grant, however, is to cure sickness, and the Chiricahua who is able to practice an effective curing ceremony earns respect and even riches.

When I was a boy, a good shaman was highly respected. These are the ones who are known to have kind hearts and that nobody calls witches. A good shaman is wealthy, for he's out curing and everybody gives him something for his cures.

If sickness strikes and special knowledge and ceremony are required, a shaman is hired. It is accepted that he or one of his fellow ceremonialists will, through the cooperation of supernatural power, learn the cause of the difficulty and the proper course of action. The service of supernatural power may range from producing a simple herbal remedy to revealing the identity of a sorcerer.